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It has for machinery a terrible storm, a wonderful dream, and various gods and goddesses. He tells us more about the city and the collection of relics in the castle church than about the university. He reaches the conclusion that,

through the labors of the Christian princes, Frederic and John, the place has advanced from a village to a city, from a village of clay to a city of stone, from an unholy village to a holy city, from an intellectually indolent village to an intellectually active city, from a poor village to a rich city, from a drunken village to a sober city, from an ignoble village to a noble city, from a peasant village to a city of free citizens, from an ignorant village to a learned city, from a weak village to a strong city, from an unknown village to a famous city, and perhaps to the most famous.

It is time to take breath. As we do so, let us be grateful both to the author and to the editor for this amusing yet faithful picture of the cradle of the Reformation as it was when Luther was about to begin his stormy career in it.

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THE ACTS OF PAUL

Scholars have long wondered how it happened that so important a document as the *Acts of Paul* should have failed to survive among the remains of early Christian literature. The work was of early date, as references to it in Origen, if not in Clement, testify. It was held in high honor, as Eusebius, Augustine, and several early lists of the New Testament books abundantly prove. And it was much longer than most of the other early Christian writings, as is shown by the number of *stichoi* given in the Codex Claromontanus and Nicephorus. What became of this important apochryphon? During the past seven years everyone has been made aware that it had not completely perished, after all, but that considerable sections of it existed under other names. It was in 1897 that Dr. Carl Schmidt announced his discovery of a Coptic version¹ of the *Acts* among the Reinhardt papyri at Heidelberg.² He informed the world that the original work contained three ancient Christian documents, viz., the well-known *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, the apochryphal correspondence with the Corinthians, and the *Martyrdom of Paul*. Enough of the Coptic text

¹ *Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift Nr. 1*. Herausgegeben von Carl Schmidt. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. Textband: Uebersetzung, Untersuchungen und koptischer Text, viii+240+80 pages. Tafelband: xii+80 pages. M. 36.

² *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, Vol. VII, pp. 117 ff.

was recovered to prove the unity of the whole, which was soon strikingly verified by Harnack through his critical study of the *Caena Cypriani*.³ Meanwhile Zahn had the satisfaction of knowing that, in the case of the Corinthian letters and the *Martyrdom*, his own conjectures had been verified.⁴ The title of the work is found subscribed on p. 58 of the papyrus, and reads (if we accept Schmidt's restoration) "Acts of Paul according to the Apostle"—that is, they are based on his authority, if not indeed written by him.

It is very interesting to follow the successive steps by which the editor was led to identify the various fragments, and to arrange them in order, on the basis of the stichometries and the texts of Lipsius. The manuscript had suffered grievous mutilation, being torn into more than two thousand pieces, many of which were so small as to make their identification practically impossible. Only one sheet remained nearly enough intact to show the size of the original pages (Plates 21 and 22). Schmidt estimates that about one-third of the entire work has been recovered. Obviously much of the arrangement must at present be regarded as provisional. Clemen has gone over the ground independently, in connection with his recent work on the apostle Paul,⁵ and has reached results which differ considerably from Schmidt's.⁶ He thinks that in the general course of the apostle's travels, the apochryphal *Acts* follow the canonical more closely than does Schmidt.

Of historical information respecting Paul, in the strict sense, there is none in the *Acts* now published. Persons and places otherwise known do certainly appear, but the account of Paul's missionary journeyings, preaching, and miracles is invented. The author apparently tries to give verisimilitude to his narrative by making use of data contained in the New Testament, but in free and arbitrary combination, and he is particularly fond of the miraculous. His Paul heals the sick, raises the dead, contends with demons and overcomes them, casts down idols, and destroys heathen temples, as if these were every-day occurrences. He journeys from the Syrian (?) Antioch, through Iconium, Myra, Sidon, Tyre, Philippi, and (probably) Jerusalem, ending at Rome, where he suffers martyrdom. Clemen throws doubts upon the view that the Syrian Antioch is intended, and argues in favor of the Pisidian city. It is to be regretted that the manuscript should be in comparatively good condition in the portions best

³ *T. U.*, Vol. XIX (1899), p. 3; Vol. XX (1900), p. 3.

⁴ *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, Vol. II, pp. 611, 877.

⁵ *Paulus: Sein Leben und Wirken* (Giessen, 1904).

⁶ See *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. III (1904), pp. 228 ff.

known to us, and in poor condition in parts otherwise unknown. For example, following p. 40 of the manuscript there is a long section of which only fragments remain, from which it appears that Paul's attitude toward the Jewish law is under discussion. We are able to make out a sort of diluted Paulinism. "Man is not justified through the law"—that sounds like Paul—"but he is justified through the works (!) of righteousness." To find parallels to that kind of teaching one must look, not to the canonical epistles, but to such documents as *II Clement*.⁷ We can only lament that so little remains to show how a second-century writer really conceived of Paulinism.

Eager but fruitless search has been made to identify the quotations which Origen preserves from these apochryphal *Acts*.⁸ Clemen thinks the words ἀνωθεν μέλλω σταυρωθῆναι perhaps stood at the end of the speech on p. 60 of the plates. It seems to me not improbable that the quotation from "the apostle Paul" given by Clement of Alexandria,⁹ thus far unidentified, may have come from the neighboring context, where Paul (?) says: "Truly God is One, and no God but He exists" (Plate 59). The words which follow relate to Jesus Christ. In Clement the passage reads: "Take also the Hellenic books. Read the *Sibyl*, how it is shown that God is one, and how the future is indicated, And, taking *Hystaspes*, read and you will find the Son of God much more clearly described," etc. But neither the *Sibyl* nor *Hystaspes* is to be read in the mutilated text of our *Acts*.

The "talking lion" of Commodian¹⁰ has not been located, nor has the "baptized lion" of Jerome.¹¹ Rolffs thinks he has solved the riddle of the latter by his theory that Jerome misinterpreted Tertullian's *bestia*,¹² and Schmidt accepts Rolff's explanation.¹³ According to this view, the story of a lion's being baptized was Jerome's invention. Krüger has conclusively shown that Rolffs and Schmidt are wrong.¹⁴ He stoutly maintains that both the "lion" stories are taken from the *Acts of Paul*, and would be found there, if the complete work were before us. Another subject on which our *Acts* are silent is the Spanish journey. After a conflict with Nero, Paul is put to death in Rome. There is certainly room enough in the unrecovered portions of the book for a trip to Spain (as Clemen

⁷ Cf., e. g., *II Clement*, 19, 3, "Let us therefore practice righteousness, that we may be saved unto the end."

⁸ Origen, *Commentarium in Johannem*, XX, 12; *De Principiis*, I, 2, 3.

⁹ *Stromata*, VI, 5. ¹⁰ *Carmen Apolog.*, 627 f. ¹¹ *De Vir.*, III, 7.

¹² *De baptismo*, 7; cf. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, pp. 358 f.

¹³ *Acta Pauli*, p. 153.

¹⁴ *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. V (1904), p. 166.

maintains against Schmidt), yet it is difficult to see just where, in the story as we know it, such a missionary journey would fall. While not perhaps excluded by our *Acts*, that hypothetical chapter in Paul's life is not rendered any more probable by them (cf. Clemen). It is evident, however, that there is still room for hypothesis and conjecture respecting parts of this interesting document.

In view of what has already been ascertained by Schmidt and other scholars we may without hesitation follow our editor in the view that when¹⁵ Tertullian speaks of "writings wrongly passing under Paul's name," he is referring to the *Acts of Paul*. Tertullian says the work was written by an Asiatic presbyter, out of love for Paul, whose fame he wished to augment, but that, instead of gaining credit by his performance, he was removed from office. This settles, within reasonably narrow limits, such questions as those of date, place, and authorship. To be sure, we do not know the presbyter's name, but we do know that the *Acts* were written by an orthodox and not by an heretical writer, as Lipsius persistently maintained. It is something also to know that the author was in priest's orders, for just then the presbyters were very influential in the churches of Asia and of the west. The date cannot be long before Tertullian's *De baptismo*. Schmidt assigns the book to about 180 A. D. That "Asia" was the place is not any too definite. More suggestive, and by no means improbable, is the theory which Schmidt puts forward on the basis of his study of the Asiatic inscriptions gathered into Boeckh's *Corpus*, where he finds that a large proportion of the names mentioned in the Acts occur in inscriptions from Smyrna.¹⁶ Smyrna may well have been the place of composition.

With regard to the character of our document, all that need be said is that it is fiction. Schmidt vehemently denounces the author as a "beispiellos geschickter und scrupelloser Fälscher" (p. 202). The value of his work consists in the light it casts upon popular Christianity in the latter part of the second century. From the *Acts of Paul* and from *II Clement* one may gain a fairly definite view of the ideas current among the adherents of growing catholicism. In extending Christianity through missionary channels, Schmidt regards the influence of our *Acts* as far more potent than that of the doctrinal works of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen, so dear to the hearts of the historians of dogma. That the *Acta* enjoyed full canonical authority in some sections of the church is beyond reasonable doubt. Harnack has shown that in southern Gaul (probably), and about the fifth century, they were sometimes appealed to from choice, rather than the canonical *Acts of the Apostles*. It was probably about this same

¹⁵ *De baptismo*, 17.

¹⁶ *Acta*, p. 205, note.

time that the book was divided up, and began to circulate in parts under other names—a fact which may be partly accounted for by the popularity the apochryphal books of acts enjoyed among Manichæans and Priscillianists, which tended to destroy their favor among the orthodox.

All scholars will unite in congratulating Dr. Schmidt on the completion of his laborious task, and in thanking him for rendering such patient service to the common cause, knowing all the while that his results were bound to be fragmentary and his conclusions in part only tentative.

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THE LIFE AND WORK OF JESUS

Christian literature in our day is exceedingly rich in excellent treatises on the life and ministry of Jesus, written from almost every conceivable point of view. Some of these books, like Weiss's *Leben Jesu*, or Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, or Keim's *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, are monuments of painstaking industry and erudition. Many of these lives of Jesus mark an advance in our knowledge of the time in which Jesus lived, and lead to a better and fuller understanding of his recorded words. The question may, therefore, not be deemed inappropriate when a new book¹ on the life of Jesus comes up for review, whether it is an addition to what we already have. Dr. Barton's book will not take the place of the more scholarly treatises just mentioned, but it has several features which will win for it a large and grateful class of readers. It is written in an attractive style, fresh and picturesque, by a clergyman who has had much opportunity during his pulpit ministrations to acquaint himself with the gospel records of Jesus' life. The evidences of this pulpit preparation are very marked in the book. Thus, for example, in chap. xx, "the boy with the basket" is the starting-point for an interesting tale on the general usefulness of the small boy. The special feature of the book, however, is the richness of its illustrations. The author has succeeded in bringing together with good judgment about 350 half-tone pictures, the greater number from the masters in Christian art. To these are added illustrations taken from photographs on the spot. These illustrations are calculated to make the life of Jesus and the scenes of his ministry seem real, but they may also confuse the imagination by their very great number

¹ *Jesus of Nazareth: The Story of His Life and the Scenes of His Ministry*. With a chapter on "The Christ of Art." By William E. Barton. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1903. 558 pages. \$2.50, net.